12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

much by the Rumanian people as by the intervention of Rumanian and foreign statesmen, whose interests did not coincide with those of the majority of Rumanians. The history of Rumania during the period between the two Great Wars and during the present war is another and more vivid illustration of this passivity of a people, caught in the titanic struggle between Great Powers.

The economic and political effects of this development can be seen in the exploitation to which the people have been subjected for centuries, chiefly by foreign merchants and trusts, aided and abetted by a greedy and corrupt ruling class, and in the almost suicidal situation into which the nation has been manœuvred in recent times by its short-sighted leaders.

Psychologically, many centuries of political oppression and of economic exploitation have had an even more serious effect in the attitude of many sections of the people to life in general and to their own fate in particular. Generations of Rumanians have been methodically robbed of the fruits of their work for centuries. Their fate was not greatly affected by superficial changes, such as their elevation from serfs to peasants. This explains that they are reluctant to produce more food than they themselves can eat; for it is certain that the money-lender, the tax-collector, their own or some foreign army will take it from them. This fatalism, and the ignorance which their rulers have shown no great enthusiasm to remedy, explain the backwardness of the great masses of the people. But it would be quite wrong to assume that this implies an exhaustion of their latent powers. The Rumanians have often

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

181 shown that they possess qualities equal to those of other nations, and they still do. These forces are dormant, covered, as it were, by a thick skin which has grown as a result of blows which had to be suffered and could not be parried. If and when the strain becomes too great, and when opportunity comes, then this people may discover its power and, if it be well led, form a healthy State.

669 Up to now this has never happened: the people
186 has never won against its oppressors. And this is a factor which has been ever present in Rumanian history. The peasant revolt which broke out amongst the Rumanians in Transylvania in 1785, four years before the French Revolution, ended in complete defeat. The national movement of Tudor Vladimirescu in 1820 resulted in little more than the appointment of Rumanian, instead of Greek, princes to the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia. The revolutions of 1848 were speedily crushed by the combined forces of the great empires and, in the case of the Rumanians of Transylvania, were used in the most cunning way to defeat the national movement of another people. The union of Wallachia and Moldavia, one of the most genuine aims of the whole Rumanian people, was achieved in the end less by popular forces than by intrigues and international diplomacy. The Great Peasant Revolt of 1907 was put down by the military and cost thousands of peasants' lives. The Land Reforms of 1917 were accepted by a parliament which contained not one single peasant; and they were carried out by one of the richest landowners of Rumania, who, with his associates, had certainly no intention of applying them in such a way as to diminish the power of his

[i.e: the formation of a healthy State -- Analyst]

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Rumania EDI

December, 1950. As a matter of course, only one party appeared on the ballot. Some 80,000 persons appointed to local soviets were duly elected.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this "uprising of the proletariat" was the extreme paucity of Communists. Another was the fact that the population had no democratic tradition to fall back upon. The country had lived under a fascist type of dictatorship without sensing that it had been very differently treated than it would no doubt have been under a liberal regime. When the war was over, most of Antonescu's Iron Men simply transformed themselves into a different metal. We may say without hesitation that opportunism and not conviction made Rumania's transition to Sovietism so absurdly simple. Nobody had believed it possible that a man like Dr. Maniu could be clapped into jail, brought before the courts on a trumped-up charge, and sentenced. But the People's Democracy managed even that, and it was small wonder that the average citizen began to think earnestly about his own throat.

As we ponder the evil fortunes which lay ahead for religious confessions in Rumania, it is helpful to bear in mind that this country, the easternmost colony of the Roman Empire, learned to know Christianity as early as the second century of the present era. Congregations formed there were represented at some of the earliest councils of the Church. Subsequently, after wars and invasions had run their course, the Rumanian ecclesiastical establishment was affiliated with the Eastern, or Byzantine, Patriarchate. As a result Greek Orthodoxy became the confession to which the great majority of the people subscribed after the independence of the nation had been achieved in 1878. The Church thus established occupied a position in the life of the country which was not unlike that of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria. The clergy participated in the official affairs of the nation. In general, exception having been duly